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AN  
ADDRESS  
TO  
THE INHABITANTS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
IN REPLY, &c.

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AN  
ADDRESS  
TO  
THE INHABITANTS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
IN REPLY  
TO  
A PRINTED REPORT  
OF THE  
LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES.

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1794.



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279

**THE INHABITANTS**

**GREAT BRITAIN. AND IRELAND.**

**FELLOW CITIZENS,**

THE Address, which is respectfully submitted to your consideration, will, we trust, recall to your attention the various plans, fabricated and published by a certain description of persons, calling themselves, "The London Corresponding Societies." For the purpose of obtaining redress for a number of pretended and imaginary grievances, among others, that of a more equal representation of Parliament; those men forgetful of their

shops,

shops, sheds, stalls, and stands, had erected themselves into a pigmy state of legislation, and became so actually possessed with the delusive idea, that pursuing their measures, the Executive Government thought it necessary to stop their career, and, like the baseless fabric of a vision, left them, not a wreck behind.

Our invaluable, but much envied Constitution, hath for ages withstood many and various assaults, yet as a Phœnix, it rises with greater splendour, and boldly repels every attack. The principle objection to this invulnerable and glorious fabric, made by those modern reformers, is it's having been erected by their ancestors, whose rude and uncultivated manners, with their ignorance in preparing the materials and putting them together they say, spoiled the building, and therefore they will think no more of them, or what they did for the benefit of succeeding generations.

Such

Such, my fellow Citizens, mark the outlines of the conduct and gratitude of this self-created Junto, we shall next proceed to their printed Reports, Resolutions, &c. with Remarks on each respectively, and thereby exhibit to the nation, the machinations and designs of a dangerous but disappointed faction, as becomes a man faithful to his Sovereign and Constitution, in the hope and confidence the same will (unimpaired) be handed down to the latest posterity.

*London, February, 1794.*

the direction, according to which you are  
likely to obviate this difficulty and to avoid  
any collision between iron flue-work and  
the roof. A considerable amount of time is  
ordinarily required for the completion of such  
an operation, and the cost of labor  
is often so great that it is difficult to  
justify the expense. In such cases, it is  
advisable to have the iron flue-work  
removed and the roof repaired before  
the flue-work is replaced.

## REMARKS,

As a REPLY to the REPORT of a SUB COMMITTEE  
of the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES,

*Dated from FREE-MASONS TAVERN,*

*May the 27th, 1780.*

## The R E P O R T.

THE Sub Committee having duly examined the various statutes of this realm, respecting the election of Members to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament, more particularly such as were enacted for the purpose of guarding against the prevalence of bribery and corruptions at elections, and the operation of every other species of undue influence upon the electors and elected; and reflecting upon the inefficacy of these provisions, with respect to the prevention of evils,

B

" which

" which threaten the final extinction of our  
 " Liberties, are decidedly of opinion, that no  
 " effectual reformation of the abuses in question  
 " can take place, unless the people exercise their  
 " inherent and undoubted right of reviewing the  
 " whole plan of delegation, and by recurring to  
 " the first principles of our Constitution, again  
 " establish it upon its ancient foundation of  
 " equity and right reason."

*Remarks, &c.* It must be observed, that  
 had the Sub Committee examined with  
 cautious attention the several statutes that  
 had been enacted since the origin of Par-  
 liaments, they must have found in those  
 statutes one regular, uniform, and pro-  
 gressive continuation of facts, that those  
 several statutes were wisely enacted from  
 time to time, as they became necessary to  
 strengthen, not destroy, but effectually to  
 secure and confirm both to the electors  
 and elected, their just rights and privi-  
 leges, and to punish those only, who, re-  
 gardless of both the spirit and letter of  
 the law, dared to act in defiance of both  
 the one and the other; many instances,  
 nay, recent ones, might be adduced in  
 proof of many persons who have deserv-  
 edly

edly met with exemplary punishment. If we may be permitted to ask those reforming Associates, what is meant by a penal statute? If I understand it aright, its real intention is, to deter and prevent the commission of crimes, and to punish only in the last extremity; from hence it naturally followed, that in proportion to the increase and various modes of the committing of offences, the Legislature were under the painful necessity of increasing the penal statutes, and it may not be improper just to hint, by way of caution, to those who confessedly are in the habit of daily crying out against, and defaming the present mode of administering public justice, more especially against the present rulers and directors of the state, least the resentment of an insulted nation may force them to that bar, where rigid justice knows no distinction of party, or of men, be their rank in life what it may.

*Report continued.*—“ When error has obtained  
“ the sanction of time, it appears to the un-  
“ thinking mind under the semblance of truth;  
“ and even men of reflection, who have formed

" a just conception of its nature and its tendency, are in such circumstances alarmed with apprehensions at the first attempts for its correction, however, as the consequence of error, in proportion to its magnitude and extent of operation, are manifestly evil, and as constitutional errors may therefore be supposed to be unavoidably productive of national calamity, it is surely more prudent, in the proper season, to submit to the perhaps imaginary inconveniences of a reformation, than suspend our exertions, until we are obliged to encounter those accumulated miseries, which an obstinate perseverance, in an acknowledged course of error, must derive upon both prince and people."

*Remarks, &c.* It must be confessed that great ingenuity appears in wording the above paragraph, with a seeming appearance of candour, but in stating their string of grievances, and evils, which they complain of, leads them into great error indeed, for after the most diligent and scrutinizing investigation, the public at large bely their assertions, by unanimously asserting that there are no such calamities, dangers, or evils in existence, of

of the nature and kind of which the reforming associates, so loudly complain; the conclusion is obvious. The only danger to be apprehended by the prince or people, is in suffering this self-created association to continue to insult the nation with impunity.

*Report continued.* " The prevalence of evil, " in the present hour, proves the prevalence of " error, and it does not require any extraordi- " nary degree of sagacity in the politician and " philosopher to discover, that the primary " error, and the fruitful source of the many evils " which we feel, consist in the departure from " fundamental principles, in the present con- " stitution of the Commons' House of Parlia- " ment, in consequence of which it is no longer " obedient to the will, or speaks the language " of the greatest constituent Body of the People."

*Remarks, &c.* The prevalence of evil, and a departure from principles, may be aptly applied to the conduct of those reformers, for otherwise they would have long since withdrawn their puerile opposition. That the human heart, or in other words, which mean the same thing, human nature, cannot

cannot be altogether perfect, the whole universe will admit, and may not some proportion of the frailties of human life, be placed to the account of the associated reformers? or is the whole of the frailties of nature to be ascribed to the members of the present Commons' House of Parliament? but it may be presumed that the greatest share of human obstinacy is charged to the account of the present administration! for wittingly, willingly, and maliciously persisting to retain their respective situations, to the exclusion, ruin, and disappointment of the leaders of those associates, and their numerous but needy followers? have you the effrontery to deny 'ye would be ministers, that this is not a fair statement of your delusive intentions?

*Report continued.* " Every application therefore, for the redress of the present grievances of the nation, that shall be made to a body of men, no longer under the influence of their constituents, but on the contrary, uniformly acting in subserviency to the views and interests of the crown, must of necessity be unsuccessful; and, from the natural effect of disappointment upon

“ upon the human mind, will probably impair  
“ the vigour of every future exertion.”

*Remarks, &c.* By the above extract it must be observed that the responses of the reformers seems to be tuned to melancholy, as they have just discovered that the Commons' House of Parliament in exercise of the trust delegated to them by their respective constituents, acquit themselves so honourably, by a faithful discharge of their several duties to their sovereign, constituents and the nation, that perceiving there is but one uniform general and united opinion between the governors and the governed, those reformers seem to be convinced, but awkwardly confess, that any further attempts on their part, to destroy this happy union, will, like all others of their proceedings, prove altogether ineffectual.

*Report continued.* “ Application to the Crown,  
“ to suspend the exertion of its influence, or to  
“ repair the breaches made in that part of the  
“ constitution, which was intended to be the  
“ bulwark of the people against its encroach-  
“ ments, pre-supposes such an ignorance of the  
“ principles,

“ principles, which, in certain circumstances,  
“ are found invariably to actuate the human  
“ mind, that one would be led to imagine the  
“ use of argument would be superceded by the  
“ obvious absurdity of the expedient.”

*Remarks, &c.* It would be an absurdity indeed, to request the Crown to give up the necessary appendages attendant thereon; that would be to make the Crown a cypher? surely those reformers shut out as they are, from every hope of a more comfortable establishment, yet as the last resource to men in their situation, are making application for admittance into a certain house in Moorfields.

*Report continued.* “ The event of the experiment frequently repeated, had confirmed the conclusion which right reason would have suggested; and it now stands a truth, recorded for the benefit of future generations, that when the point in question is a redress of grievances, originating in opposition or a restriction of the rights and privileges of the people, millions sue in vain.”

*Remarks,*

*Remarks, &c.* The above extract is as bold as it is unfounded in truth, let those reforming gentlemen be asked, when and at what period of time, those millions of people came forward with their well grounded complaints without being heard and redressed? is it not notorious, that during the present reign, there has been one continued faction, uniformly opposing the sovereign's ministers? Ask those oppositionists who were the final cause of the American War, and of seperating that country, from its dependence on England? Was it the then administration, or was it the desperate faction alluded to? The answer is obvious, the fact stands upon record, it was not his majesty's ministers or servants, it was the then daring opposition, that lost to the crown, and the nation, their possessions in America.

*Report continued.* " To what earthly tribunal therefore shall those injured people have resort in this alarming moment, when a desperate faction, in the midst of public calamity and distress, has manifested a determined purpose

“ of persevering in a line of conduct, which, if  
 “ persisted in, must inevitably end in the sub-  
 “ version of our liberties, and the desolation of  
 “ our state? The sun of England’s glory perhaps  
 “ soon may set to rise no more.”

*Remarks, &c.* That there was a desperate faction was evident, and that the same desperate faction are fallen into contempt is certain, and that many of the principles of that desperate faction, are at this moment in an alarming situation, experiencing (from their illegal proceedings against the Executive Government and Constitution of England), every species of calamity and distress, is also most true, as some of this desperate faction as a just reward for their actions are consigned to their friends at Botany Bay, others of the party may be heard of at their lodgings in places of safety in London and Middlesex; may it not be hoped that those events will be a sufficient warning to the remaining few of those deluded and misguided persons? humanity will hope it may.

*Report continued.* “ One hope still remains in  
 “ the native energy of the great collective body  
 “ of

“ of the people, the native energy of a race of  
 “ men, who have always stood distinguished in  
 “ the annals of nations for every liberal sentiment  
 “ and every generous principle that can dignify  
 “ our kind.”

*Remarks, &c.* Alas! those reformers are even counteracted in this their last and only hope, for it would be an act of great ingratitude, not to acknowledge the bravery, energy, and sentiments, of this truly great and collective body; greatly have they at all times, and at the present one in particular, proved the honour of their bravery, conduct, and sentiments, by a regular, uniform and decided opposition to the machinations and plans of the reforming societies, and of avowing their determination of supporting the King and Constitution with their lives and fortunes, and never to tarnish the character of true and loyal Britons.

*Report continued.* “ The peaceful efforts of  
 “ this mighty power, acting by committees,  
 “ freely chosen, and sufficient, under the pro-  
 “ vidence of heaven, to re-establish the Constitu-  
 “ tion in its ancient vigour; the public state of

“ require this exertion, the public voice at length  
 “ appears disposed to bear its testimony to this  
 “ important truth, viz. that the restitution  
 “ of the Commons’ House of Parliament to  
 “ freedom and independency, by interposition  
 “ of the great collective body of the nation, is  
 “ essentially necessary to our existence as a free  
 “ people.”

*Remarks, &c.* There evidently appears a  
 mistake in transcribing the above propo-  
 sition, for instance, peaceful efforts, com-  
 mittees freely chosen, providence, hea-  
 ven, &c. Surely will those associators  
 presume to speak of peace, and use the  
 epithets of providence, heaven, &c. why  
 not at once, like their friends in France,  
 throw off their mask, and declare for li-  
 berty and equality; their poverty and  
 the riches of the nation are so widely dif-  
 ferent, they are determined to have a  
 scramble for a part? Is not this the pri-  
 mary object of your intention?

*Report continued.* “ The circumstance of the  
 “ times, and the peculiar nature of the means,  
 “ which must be employed for effecting our de-  
 “ liverance,

“ liverance, require, that the proposed plan be  
 “ exhibited compleat in all its essential forms,  
 “ and that its various parts, being combined in  
 “ strict and necessary union with each other, be  
 “ established at one and the same moment of  
 “ time.”

*Remarks, &c.* The above proposition seems to involve the ultimatum of the intention of the reforming associators, by at once coming to the point with a vengeance; Will nothing less than a general revolt in the nation answer those gentlemen's purpose? surely those reforming Friends of Peace and order, have carefully retained in their memory, the little affair that happened in London, Westminster, and Southwark, in the year 1780; with submission to those reformers, it may not be improper to observe, that their committee was appointed the 12th of April 1780, and that their first report was dated from Free-Masons Tavern the 27th of May next following, and that the riots in London, Westminster, and Southwark, commenced within one month afterwards; it by no means follows that those degradations were the immediate consequence of the Sub Committee's Report, but it must

must be admitted that in consequence of the then opposition in Parliament to the measures of administration, and the high and frequent debates which then occurred, a certain description of the lower orders of the people were led to believe that something was wrong, particularly as the word reformation was so often, and frequently sounded in their ears, the dreadful devastation that immediately followed is in the recollection of every one.

*Report continued.* " When we cast our eyes upon the conduct of the present Commons' House of Parliament; when we behold a majority of its Members, in defiance of our petitions, and their own solemn declaration, persist in increasing the burdens of the people, and in a stedfast purpose of opposing every measure of redress, desponding apprehensions may for a time take place in the minds of the best and bravest of our countrymen, reflection however will dispel a more pleasing prospect, arising from the very extremity of our distress; more vigorous counsels, and a happy unanimity will be the unavoidable result, the alarm of the nobility, for the very existence of their present splendid distinctions, will co-operate with the poignant feelings of the people, and every rank

“ rank and description of men will feel the propriety and necessity of establishing that plan of Parliamentary reformation, which holds forth our best, and indeed our only security, against the all devouring influence of the crown.”

*Remarks, &c.* Well may the Reforming Associations complain of the impertinent and obstinate conduct of the Commons' House of Parliament, by treating their petitions with contempt; the reformers forgot that the Commons' House of Parliament, were and are well apprised of the practices, views, and principles of those petitioners, as such, and finding that no relief was to be expected from the lower House of Parliament, they proceed to other and more vigorous measures, by an immediate attack upon the nobility, in the hope they will look down with an eye of pity, and commiserate their forlorn and hapless state, gently hinting, that hunger knows no bounds, that something must be done to relieve them in their extreme distress, least they may be driven to the necessity, like their friends in France, of helping themselves.

Liberty

Liberty, Equality, and the Rights of Man is the word, and (say they) if we can but establish this fashion in England, we shall have no further cause of complaint, or to use those hateful words, Sovereign, King, Constitution, Laws, &c. as they would at once be exploded, and finally annihilated.

*Report continued.* " Political truth, like the moral feelings of the soul, is plain and simple, it recommends itself powerfully to the general sentiment; and when unveiled in its intrinsic purity, will assuredly call forth the animated exertion of millions in its support."

*Remarks, &c.* The above extract must be universally admitted; we have only to observe, that as literature, arts and sciences, have arrived at so distinguished an eminence, they must of course diffuse their excellencies even among the lowest orders of the people, which of consequence harmonizes the heart, expands the idea, and leads us to a due sense of virtue, therefore it is very unlikely, that millions of people, will ever have occasion to come forward in defence of a fact, the validity of which, in

in all human probability, will never be called in question.

*Report continued.* " An equal representation  
 " of the people, in the great council of the na-  
 " tion, annual elections, and the universal right  
 " of suffrage, appear so reasonable to the natural  
 " feelings of mankind, that no sophistry can  
 " elude the force of the arguments which are  
 " urged in their favour, and they are rights of  
 " so transcendant a nature, that in opposition to  
 " the claim of the people to their enjoyment,  
 " the longest period of prescription is pleaded  
 " in vain; they were substantially enjoyed in the  
 " time of the immortal Alfred, they were che-  
 " rished by the wisest princes of the Norman  
 " line, they form the grand palladium of our  
 " nation, they ought not to be esteemed the  
 " grant of royal favour, nor were they at first  
 " extorted by violence from the hand of power;  
 " they are the birthright of Englishmen, their  
 " best inheritance, which without the compli-  
 " cated crimes of treason to their country, and  
 " injustice to their posterity, they cannot alienate  
 " or resign, they form that triple cord of strength,  
 " which alone can be relied on to hold, in times  
 " of tempest, the vessel of the state."

*Remarks, &c.* In answer to the general complaints as set forth in the last recited extract, respecting the unequal representation in Parliament, recommending annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, as enjoyed in the time of the immortal Alfred, we readily admit there never was a Prince more deserving the distinguished appellation so justly applied to him by his grateful subjects, which in the annals of England will, and ought to be, ever held in respectful memory, for to this great Prince we owe, ultimately, the rights and privileges so happily interwoven in the British Constitution.

In observation of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, as alluded to in that Prince's reign, together with the use, nature, proceeding and operation of Parliaments in those days, it will be necessary to recall to the attention of the public, what progress had been made in literature arts and sciences, at the time this Prince succeeded to the crown of England. It appears that Alfred stands confessedly by all historians, to be the first Prince that ever received the rudiments of a classical education,

education, which he happily derived at Rome, by which means he not only became a scholar, but also an author. This Prince tells us that when he came to the Throne, (which is worthy of remark), that he had scarcely a lay subject that could read English, or an ecclesiastic that understood Latin; it evidently follows, that those Parliaments, both in power and abilities were equally of little use, and assembled only in the presence of the King, for the purpose of his hearing their conversation and arguments, in order to discover if by this mode of enquiry, any circumstance or plan, there proposed appeared serviceable to the nation, of consequence no art or sophistry can deny, but that the whole power of Government was then vested in the King.

*Report continued.* " with respect to the expediency of reforming the representation of this country, and of recurring to the constitutional practice of annually electing the persons sent to Parliament, the Sub Committee observes, " That the general meeting of the Deputies, on the 17th of March, decided, in the affirmative, upon the propriety of those measures,

“ with unanimous voice, that the Committee,  
“ from which this body received its instructions,  
“ have, with similar unanimity, given their suf-  
“ frages to the same sentiment; and that the  
“ general meeting of the inhabitants of West-  
“ minster upon the 6th of April declared, that  
“ the people of England have, and always had,  
“ a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right to an  
“ annual election of their representatives, as well  
“ as to an adequate and equal representation,  
“ founded upon stronger grounds than that of  
“ any Act or Acts of Parliament, and that the at-  
“ tainment of these important constitutional ob-  
“ jects, is the most effectual expedient for restor-  
“ ing and securing the independency of Parlia-  
“ ment. With regard to the restitution of the  
“ universal right of suffrage, the Sub Committee  
“ conceive that the reasonableness and expediency  
“ of the measure will probably be more appa-  
“ rent, if the full extent and magnitude of those  
“ powers be considered, which are entrusted to  
“ the representatives by the constituent body.  
“ The doctrine, that representation and taxation  
“ are inseparable, is founded in truth, but the  
“ undue preference that has been afforded to the  
“ rights of property in various discussions of this  
“ subject, has tended to keep out of sight other  
“ principles,

“ principles, equally essential to a just conception of this question.

“ A portion of the soil, a portion of its produce, may be wanting to many, but every man has an interest in his life, his liberty, his kindred, and his country, and when laws affecting these are made by persons, to whom he hath not delegated the power, each of these possessions, which are as substantial, as if, like land or money, there were objects of the senses, may be invaded by those, who, being possessed of property, the grand enchantress of the world, would thereby be enabled more successfully to gratify that lust of despotic power, which so strongly characterizes the human heart.”

*Remarks, &c.* The danger that would of consequence follow any change or alteration in the representation of the country, appears self-evident, more especially, were the plan of the Sub Committee of the London Corresponding Societies to be adopted, with respect to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage.

In the first place, independent of the danger and the accumulated evils which evidently must be involved, from so hazardous and immediate an attack upon so principle a part of the Constitution, but supposing for a moment this heterogeneous plan was to take place, it may not be improper to make some enquiry as to its operation and tendency. It must be admitted that by universal suffrage, that is, by all persons twenty-one years of age, are of right become electors, and from a moderate calculation it will appear, that in England and Wales, the elective body may at least be presumed, (according to the proposed plan), to amount to five millions of persons, and allowing the candidates a reasonable time for applying to, and canvassing their respective constituents, together with the necessary time to be taken up in administering the usual oaths to this great body of people, registering the same, and making returns of the respective elections, and that annually, a question will of consequence arise, as to what portion of time in the year will be spared for the Commons' House of Parliament,

in the Parliament, to discuss the various and weighty concerns of the nation?

Very lately the author of this address held a conference with an eminent merchant from Sheffield, which from its extent and number of inhabitants, commerce, manufactures, and trade there carried on, must be considered of great consequence to the state, his answer, with respect to the proposed plan, for the alteration in the representation of the Commons' House of Parliament, was, that the moment this destructive plan was suffered to be carried into execution, the sun of England's glory would set to rise no more.

With respect to the City of London, the persons having a right to vote for the representatives of that City as Liverymen, are supposed to be about eight thousand, but if all the male inhabitants of that great City was permitted to vote on those occasions, they would be increased to upwards of one hundred thousand electors, and that annually; does it not appear evident, that the consequences which frequently happen in popular and contested elections,

elections, are better be left to the decision of eight thousand, rather than to involve upwards of one hundred thousand persons in those contests? What must become of the commerce and trade of this great City, if she was annually to undergo this mad scheme, it would nearly operate as a prohibitory bill, against any further commerce or trade in London. The City of Westminster has often experienced the fatal effects of election contests, by witnessing the mortifying scenes of profligacy, drunkenness, and even the crime of murder. What would be the consequence to that respectable city, if so great an increase of electors were to be let loose, to add to the general tumult and confusion, that unavoidably arises out of a contested election? So far from the respectable and peaceable inhabitants of that city, wishing for an increase to the number of electors, they would consider it as the most fortunate event, were it possible, that a certain description of persons, who, regardless of all consideration of moral rectitude or virtue, that often present themselves to vote, were finally prevented in future, from attempting to commit so bare-faced

bare-faced an insult, in the choice of Members of Parliament for that great city.

In answer to the hackneyed cry against the unequal representation of the people, the following question, will evidently prove the fallacy of the complaint, as for instance, suppose two men in company, the one shall be a Freeholder, Liveryman of London, or a Freeman of some Borough, which of consequence gives him a right of suffrage, to vote for a representative or representatives, of the people. The other other person shall be neither a Freeholder, Liveryman of London, or a Freeman of any Borough in Great Britain, and therefore prevented from having any vote or voice for any Member or Members of Parliament whatever. Wherein is this man to be considered as in a worse situation than the other? Does his proportion of taxes exceed the former? is not his person, his liberty and property, equally protected as the other? Most certainly. Then wherein is this great difference be-

tween those two men? The answer is obvious, none at all, they are alike protected, and equally represented.

*Report continued.* " The exercise of the poor man's elective right, is therefore essential to his freedom, and although in ordinary cases, he may sometimes dispose of his suffrage without a proper regard to its importance, yet, when public calamity demonstrates, that public confidence has been abused, the opportunity of rectifying the evil by a more judicious delegation will probably not be neglected, common sense will instruct him, that his own free and unbiassed voice, united with the voices of that numerous class of fellow citizens, who are his fellow sufferers at such a period, will prevail over the interested opposition of the tyrants of their species, and finally establish the real friends of humanity, and of their country in the seat of power."

*Remarks, &c.* The extreme danger, madness and folly as proposed, by annual parliaments and universal suffrage, were so fully answered, in the last remarks, that it is unnecessary to say more as to the

last

last extract, than only to add, that in whatever point of view the present mode of representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament, may be considered, it will appear so wise, just and prudent in all its relative operations, that any attempt to alter or change the same ought and ever will be resisted, by the unanimous voice of true Britons, who are determined whenever necessary to rally around the Constitution of their country, and protect the same from every attack whether by foreign emissaries, or domestic foes.

“ *Report continued.* “ It may also be observed, that no consideration would have a stronger tendency to generate proper sentiments of affection to the community, and more effectually recall the minds of the rising generation from a course of dissipation and attachment to unworthy gratifications, than the perception of that share of political consequence, which the restitution of the universal right of suffrage would afford,”

*Remarks, &c.* It is impossible to suppose the lower orders of the people would be

improved, either in virtue or morality, merely by participating in the universal suffrage so much alluded to; as it cannot appear reasonable, nay it is impossible, that this description of men will become more attentive in their religious and moral duties, by being annually called out to become principals, in scenes of riot, corruption, drunkenness and debauchery, too frequently and unavoidably the natural consequences of general elections? Those men in their present stations of life may be justly considered not only useful, but valuable members of society; change their situation, and their industry and labour would be lost to the state.

*Report continued.* " At a certain age all the  
 " male inhabitants of this kingdom, with a few  
 " exceptions, are subject to the obligation of  
 " serving in the militia, shall a man therefore be  
 " thought unworthy of a suffrage in the election  
 " of his representative, and at the same time  
 " shall his fellow citizens intrust to his fidelity  
 " and courage, whatever they hold dear? Is it  
 " reasonable to deny to a citizen, when he has  
 " attained

“ attained to maturity in his mental capacity,  
 “ the common privilege of a freeman, the right  
 “ of being governed by laws, to which the  
 “ assent of himself or his representative has been  
 “ obtained, and at the same time to avail our-  
 “ selves of his bodily strength? Is it generous, is  
 “ it politic, to treat him as an alien in the com-  
 “ munity, at the moment he may be ornament-  
 “ ing it by the powers of his understanding, or  
 “ defending it with his arms?”

*Remarks, &c.* By the above recited abstract,  
 great stress is laid upon the ingratitude  
 and impolicy, in shutting out and excluding  
 the militia from a right of suffrage in  
 the election of the representatives of the  
 Commons' House of Parliament? Is it  
 not rather singular that the soldiers and  
 sailors were not from the sagacity and li-  
 berality of the Sub Committee of re-  
 formers equally included in this com-  
 plaint? Highly respectable as the militia  
 of England are, and I trust ever will  
 continue, surely our regular forces both  
 by sea and land, are equally entitled to the  
 same confidence and regard?

But

But to shew the impracticability of all men possessing a right to this suffrage, Parliament have wisely by their statutes enacted, that property in freehold of a certain yearly value, entitles the possessor to an elective vote in the representation of the Commons' House of Parliament. As to the freemen of certain cities and incorporated borough towns, some obtain their freedom by prescription, others by servitude; hence it naturally follows, for want of property all men cannot become freeholders, nor does it fall to the lot of all men to participate in the right of prescription, nor is it possible that the great body of the people can become residents in those incorporated cities and boroughs, and thereby become freemen; an exception to this general mode of entitling us to this suffrage may be adduced, as the inhabitants of the city of Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and indeed some few of the other borough towns paying, what is generally called, scot and lot, have the power of electing their respective representatives in the Commons' House of Parliament; yet so far from a desire of increasing

creasing the number of electors, the Sub-Committee must recollect, a few years since when a large body of electors were disfranchised of this suffrage, at which time the then administration for this liberal act obtained the thanks and confidence of the public, as it must be acknowledged, the minister for the time being, might if he thought proper, have had availed himself of the influence his official situation naturally afforded him over a number of persons who held their employments principally under the servants of the crown. So far from those persons considering this act as an act of oppression, they submitted with gratitude and conceived it as the greatest mark of favour and confidence that the servants of the crown could possibly confer on them.

*Report continued.* " Urged by the force of  
 " those reflections, your Sub Committee have  
 " considered the points proposed to their deli-  
 " beration in their full extent. They have exa-  
 " mined the voluminous system of laws relative  
 " to the object of Parliamentary Elections, and  
 " find themselves under the necessity of pro-  
 " nouning, the far greater part of them to be  
 " founded

“ founded upon partial conceptions, unjust re-  
“ strictions, and false measures of expediency,  
“ which will not stand the test, when contrasted  
“ with the acknowledged principles of the Con-  
“ stitution of this country.

“ More particularly it appears to your Sub  
“ Committee,”

First, “ That through the joint operation of the  
“ statute of disfranchisement, passed in the eighth  
“ year of Henry the VIth. and the triennial bill of  
“ the 6th of William and Mary, which attempted  
“ to give the first legal sanction to the continu-  
“ ance of the same Parliament beyond the period  
“ of a single session, the representation of the  
“ Commons of England, is virtually annihilated,  
“ and an institution, which was intended to be  
“ the people’s defence against aristocratic do-  
“ mination, or regal despotism, is now become  
“ an engine in the hands of the Minister, to tax,  
“ oppress, insult, and enslave the people of this  
“ country.”

*Remarks, &c.* The Sub Committee, with their  
accustomed liberality that has hitherto  
characterized the whole of their report,  
propositions and plans, roundly assert, that  
from

from Henry the VIth. down to the present time, the Parliaments seem to have directed themselves, as to the laws enacted during that period, respecting the electors and elected, to one object, namely, to enable the minister for the time being, to tax, oppress, insult, and enslave the people of this country, a charge so false and injurious against so great and respectable a body of people, as the representatives of the Commons' House of Parliament is not to be equalled in the annals of time.

*Report continued.* " Secondly, That the present inequality in the representation, in a great measure originates in an arbitrary exercise of the Royal prerogative, whereby, in opposition to the clearest principles of the Constitution, the crown presumed to authorize, at pleasure, certain incorporated bodies to send Members to the Commons' House of Parliament, the unsuspecting people of this country at the same time not attending to the inequality, that from thence must necessarily take place in the representation, to the substantial injury of themselves, and every succeeding generation." **F** " That

“ That in consequence of the decay of many  
 “ of these corporations, and through the par-  
 “ tiality of the crown in various periods of our  
 “ history to its own tenants and dependants, there  
 “ is at this time a degree of representation en-  
 “ joyed by many boroughs of this kingdom, far  
 “ exceeding the bounds of due proportion, and  
 “ too dangerous to the public freedom to be  
 “ endured.”

*Remarks, &c.* It is worthy of observation,  
 that so much has been said relative to  
 annual parliaments and universal suffrage,  
 by the Sub Committee, and that this pri-  
 vilege was enjoyed in the fullest extent in  
 the time of the immortal Alfred, we may  
 contrast the last observation as to Parlia-  
 ments in Alfred's time, against a positive  
 and indisputable fact, which was, that  
 about the middle of the reign of Henry  
 the III<sup>d</sup>. was the first time that the knights,  
 citizens, and burgesses, as the representa-  
 tives of the people, were formed into a  
 separate house, distinct from the Lords in  
 Parliament, and thereby for the first time  
 became a part of the English Legislature;  
 from hence arose the now common expres-  
 sion, by way of distinction, as to the

upper

upper or lower House of Parliament, but previous to this time, it is impossible to state accurately, whether the Commons formed any, and what part of the English Parliaments, or great council of the nation, both history, and all the historians that ever wrote on this subject, seem divided in opinion, and totally at a loss, as to the fact.

In every proposition of the reforming Sub Committee, there appears an evident enmity against the just and natural appendages attached to the crown, rights as ancient as the crown itself, at all times admitted and sanctioned by time immemorial; wherefore complain of dangers, distress, and calamities, where neither the one or the other are in actual existence? On the contrary, are not your arts, sciences, commerce, and trade, arrived to a degree of eminence and glory unequalled at any other period of time, in this or any other nation of the universe? If this is the cause of the influence of the crown, happy for Great Britain if the same degree of influence may be preserved for ever.

*Report continued.* " Thirdly, more than seventy  
 " Acts of Parliament have been passed since the  
 " first invasion of the liberties of Englishmen in  
 " the reign of Henry the VIth. for the purpose  
 " of regulating elections. The tumults and dis-  
 " orders, bribery, perjury, and false returns, with  
 " a long train of other attendant evils, have been  
 " multiplied, in proportion as the acts were mul-  
 " tiplied, which under pretence of removing  
 " those evils, have in fact, perpetuated them,  
 " and at the same time abolished, and almost  
 " obliterated the remembrance of the universal  
 " right of suffrage, which forms one of the most  
 " important franchises of the English people."

*Remarks, &c.* If any thing is to be under-  
 stood by the above very extraordinary  
 proposition, it is, that enacting of laws  
 for the restriction and punishment of vice,  
 is totally useless, and only operates to en-  
 crease and perpetuate the crimes, which  
 those acts were intended to restrain and  
 prevent. Surely the Sub Committee had  
 either taken a glass too much, or that  
 their mental faculties were totally ab-  
 sorbed in their favourite object of annual  
 Parliaments and universal suffrage, when  
 they

they committed to writing so ridiculous and false a system.

*Report continued.* "Fourthly, that every attempt to banish bribery and corruption, and undue influence, while the present restrictions on the right of suffrage, and imperfect representation in a septennial Parliament shall subsist, would only be calculated to deceive and amuse the nation to its final destruction."

*Remarks, &c.* It may be fairly asked, the Sub Committee, who and what are the description of people, if they were suffered to succeed in their plans, most likely to deceive and amuse the nation to its final destruction? The answer is obvious, those who would wish to disunite, alter, or change any part of our Constitution, as such, the Sub Committee may be assured that whatever becomes of the nation, there are in this country those who are at all times ready, of consequence able, to repel every attempt that may be made to alter or change the present system as to the representation of the present Commons' House of Parliament.

*Report*

*Report continued.* " Fifthly, That instead of adding to the number of our statutes by regulations incompetent to the purpose proposed, reformation should commence with rescinding and abolishing of the injurious acts and illegal customs above-mentioned. Thus would the constitution, as if delivered from an oppressive weight, that impedes its exertions, recover its energies; while the principles on which it is founded would suggest a simple practicable plan for regulating those elections, on which our freedom, our happiness, and our very national existence must depend."

" Governed by these considerations, the Sub Committee have formed the following plan, in which they have made their chief effort plainly to express every material provision for securing the free election of an independent House of Parliament, they have studiously avoided entering into a detail. They have suggested to the best of their ability, a plan founded upon constitutional principles, and the common right of mankind, a plan expedient in our present circumstances, and which may with facility be carried into execution by the spirited, yet peaceful efforts of the people, provided their breasts are informed

“ formed with the same sentiments of public  
 “ virtue, and ardent love of liberty, which have  
 “ hitherto animated the exertions of the English  
 “ nation,

*Remarks, &c.* The Sub Committee have entered upon another most egregious blunder, in their proposing to rescind and abolish all those statutes that were enacted from time to time, as circumstances arose, not only for the better regulation of the electors and elected, but also to define and secure to each their just rights and privileges, as also to punish those who in defiance of those statutes, should be found in times of elections, violating those laws by promoting of riots, disorders, or otherwise in acts of corruption, bribery, perjury, and the making of false returns. There never appeared so inconsistent a mode of argument, as to state as a fact, that the enacting of laws to prevent and punish offenders, is, by those reforming gentlemen, to be understood as an immediate inducement to those who may be inclined to be guilty of those atrocities, to proceed therein as a regular system, and perpetuate the same, and at all times when

when they are so disposed, disturb the  
peace, order, and harmony of society.

We again repeat, that as the natives of Great Britain are so perfectly at ease, happy and content, as to the present mode of the representation of the Commons' House of Parliament, any further attempt to alter or change the present system by the London Corresponding Associations, would be considered as an act of insanity, of consequence the only alternative remaining for those gentlemen to avail themselves of is, immediately to transport themselves, their plans and associates, to their much favoured land of liberty and equality in France, for considering the strong and marked recommendation those persons would take with them, their friends in France would receive them with pleasure, where their persons and plans would be instantly put in motion; for their voyage and a safe landing in that country all England would say *amen!* This voyage is more particularly recommended, its being a short one; their landing there may be effected in a few days, often in a few hours, which is the more desirable,

as

as the danger of long voyages, sea sickness, with a number of inconveniences often experienced by fresh water adventures, nevertheless, if the persevering obstinacy of those persons prefer a more distant voyage, they have a certain consolation, for even if their voyage should be extended to New South Wales, better known by its common appellation of Botany Bay, upon their arrival in those remote regions, they would most cordially be received by many of their old friends and associates.

We shall next proceed to introduce the whole of the Sub Committee's Plan, as to annual parliaments, and universal suffrage.

“ Plan for taking the suffrages of the people,  
“ at the election of the Representatives to serve  
“ in Parliament.”

*First.* “ That each county be divided into  
“ as many districts as it is intitled to elect  
“ representatives, each district chusing one  
“ representative.”

G

*Secondly*

*Secondly.* " That the division of the county  
 " into districts be constituted in such a  
 " manner, that each district contain nearly  
 " an equal number of males competent to  
 " vote in elections, regard being had, as  
 " much as may be, to the parochial divi-  
 " sions of the kingdom, so that each divi-  
 " sion contain a certain number of parishes;  
 " and moreover, that each district receive  
 " its denomination from the parish contain-  
 " ing the greatest number of electors."

*Thirdly.* " That the election of representatives  
 " to serve in parliament, be held annually  
 " through England and Wales, upon the  
 " first Tuesday in July; that the election  
 " commence between the hours of eight  
 " and eleven, and be finally closed before  
 " sun-set of the same day."

*Fourthly.* " That all the male inhabitants of  
 " this country, (aliens, minors, criminals,  
 " and insane persons excepted) be admitted  
 " to vote at the election of representatives,  
 " subject only to the forms, provisoës, and  
 " regulations specified in this report."

*Fifthly*

*Fifthly.* " That the number of Representatives, returned by the inhabitants of each county of England and Wales, be settled for the term of seven years next ensuing, according to the following schedule, viz.

Total.

" That the county of Rutland, and							
" the two Universities, return							
" each two Representatives	-	2	6				
" The counties of Huntingdon, and							
" Westmorland, each three	-	3	6				
" The county of Bedford, - - -	5	5					
" Berkshire, Cumberland, Hereford-							
" shire, each six	- - - -	6	18				
" Bucks, Cambridgeshire with Ely,							
" Hertfordshire, Dorset, Not-							
" tinghamshire, Oxfordshire,							
" each seven	- - - - -	7	49				
" Leicestershire, - - - - -	8	8					
" Sussex, Warwickshire, Worcester-							
" shire, each nine	- - - -	9	27				
" Cheshire, Cornwall, Derbyshire,							
" Northamptonshire, Salop,							
" Staffordshire, each ten	-	10	60				
" Hampshire, Wilts, each eleven	11	22					
" Gloucestershire, - - - - -	13	13					
" Essex, Surry with Southwark, each							
" sixteen	- - - - -	16	32				
G 2				" Lincoln-			

“ Lincolnshire, seventeen	-	-	17	17
“ Kent, Lancashire, Somerset, Suf-				
folk, each eighteen	-	-	18	72
“ Durham Bishoprick, with North-				
“ umberland, Devon, each twenty-				
“ one	-	-	21	42
“ Norfolk, twenty-two	-	-	22	22
“ Wales, with Monmouth, thirty	-	-	30	30
“ Middlesex, with London and West-				
minster, forty-five	-	-	45	45
Yorkshire, forty-six	-	-	46	46
Total.			513	

*Sixtiby.* “ That an exact roll be kept of the  
 “ male inhabitants competent to vote in  
 “ each parish, continued down to the first  
 “ Tuesday in June; and that no person be  
 “ permitted to give his suffrage, whose  
 “ name is not found in that roll; that this  
 “ roll be delivered in upon oath of the  
 “ clergymen, church-wardens, or other  
 “ officers of the parish, to the church-  
 “ wardens of that parish of the district,  
 “ where the poll is taken.”

*Seventiby.* “ That the sheriff, together with all  
 “ the justices of the peace, mayor, alder-  
 “ men,

" men, and magistrates, form in each county  
 " a grand inquest for allotting the districts  
 " in due proportion to the male inhabitants  
 " competent to vote, and for denominating  
 " the same; and that such inquest be finally  
 " settled, and notice of the allotment given  
 " to each parish comprehend in the district,  
 " within the term of ten days after the first  
 " Tuesday in June.

*Eightbly.* " That the election of the representatives of the people be made at the principal town or village of the district."

*Ninthbly.* " That the poll of each district be taken by ballot, under the conduct of the church-wardens of the parish in the district where the election is made."

*Tenthbly.* " The church-wardens of the district, at the close of the poll, shall declare the name of the person elected, and certify the same to the sheriff, in order to its being transmitted to the clerk of the crown in chancery."

*Eleventbly.* " That the annual Session of Parliament shall commence upon the first Thursday

“ Thursday in November, unless some very  
 “ extraordinary event, or urgent national  
 “ business, should make it indisputably re-  
 “ quisite for the crown to assemble it before  
 “ the stated period.”

*Twelfthly.* “ That the session terminate upon the  
 “ last day of April, unless the national bu-  
 “ siness should be sooner dispatched; the  
 “ Crown having nevertheless power to pro-  
 “ long the session beyond the stated period,  
 “ if any urgent business remain unfinished,  
 “ in which case, the parliament may con-  
 “ tinue its sitting to the first day of July.”

*Thirteenthly.* “ That all Members of the Com-  
 “ mons’ House of Parliament, before taking  
 “ their seats, declare upon oath, that they  
 “ do not hold any office or emolument at  
 “ the will of the crown, or its servants, or  
 “ any lord of Parliament; that they will  
 “ give due attendance to business, and act  
 “ with all fidelity to the people in the dis-  
 “ charge of their important trust.”

*Fourteenthly.* “ That all Members serving in  
 “ Parliament be entitled to reasonable wages,  
 “ according

“ according to the wholesome practice of  
“ ancient times.”

*Fifteenthly.* “ That all election causes be  
“ finally decided by jury, before the judges  
“ of assize.”

*Sixteenthly.* “ That every person competent to  
“ give his suffrage as an elector, be also  
“ esteemed qualified to be elected to serve  
“ his country in Parliament.”

“ Signed by Order of the  
“ Sub-Committee,  
“ T. BRAND HOLLIS, *Chairman.*”

*Remarks, &c.* It cannot be expected we should enter into the particulars of the whole of those articles, as the folly, impolicy, and absurdity of the propositions are sufficiently explained; for however specious they appear in theory, it would be altogether impossible to carry the system into execution; as for instance, the sixth article is equally as ridiculous as impracticable, for how is it possible for the proper officers to deliver in upon oath, a regular, just, and true enrollment, of all the males competent to vote in the several and

and respective districts, it being notorious, that three fourths of the lower orders of the people, such as working manufacturers, journeymen, labourers, and servants, in their relative and respective pursuits in seeking employment, may travel over the greatest part of the kingdom in twelve months; yet by the third article those men are to be found somehow or other, to give their annual suffrage on the first Tuesday in July. If it is to be understood, (as those men can have no permanent place of residence) that they have a right of enrollment at every place they stop at, to procure a day or a week's work, the consequence of course must be, that those enrollments, in most of the districts, in the course of one year, in consequence of the fluctuation of those people, will possess many thousands of names as electors, that the proper officers are incapable of giving any account of whatever. Such is the method those reforming gentlemen so strongly solicit for, to enable us to possess a free and independent House of Parliament.

Again,

Again, the Sub Committee in their report, vehemently declaim against an Act of Parliament, which passed in the reign of Henry the VIth, and another Act of the 6th of William and Mary, called the Trienial Bill ; they say those are the first acts that seemed to countenance, the Parliaments sitting beyond the period of a single session, by which means, they pronounce, that the representation of the Commons of England is virtually annihilated.

Now mark those wise men of Gotham, in article the twelfth, they propose the sitting of Parliament to end at a certain period, but say those regulators of the state, mark their words ; “ The Crown nevertheless having power to prolong the Session beyond the stated period, if any urgent business remain unfinished ; in which case, the Parliament may continue its sitting to the first Tuesday in July.” Condescending creatures ! and pray when was it known that Parliament continued sitting beyond its usual period, excepting only, upon particular and urgent occasions.

*Report continued.* " Resolved, that the thanks  
 " of this Committee be given to the Chairman  
 " and Members of the Sub Committee, for the  
 " very intelligent report, made by them, relative  
 " to the election of Members to serve in the  
 " Commons' House of Parliament."

" That the report of the Sub Committee be  
 " printed, and copies sent to the several Com-  
 " mittees of the counties, cities, and boroughs  
 " of this kingdom."

C. J. FOX, *Chairman.*

*Remarks, &c.* With regard to Mr. Fox,  
 we have not a wish to take from him any  
 part of the merit ascribed to him by the  
 reforming societies, particularly as he is  
 the only man of that party now remain-  
 ing, worthy of notice, to marshal, direct,  
 and order the future operations of the  
 scattered few, which with much difficulty,  
 can now be collected together under the  
 firm or appellation of reforming asso-  
 ciates.

Indeed Mr. Fox, with submission to his dis-  
 tinguished abilities and talents, is not the  
 only man in this country who has lost the  
 confidence

confidence of his fellow citizens, by suffering his abilities and principles to become vitiated and contaminated, by mixing with and apparently countenancing men of desperate fortunes, who having nothing to lose, but every thing to expect, by involving the country in scenes of anarchy and confusion.

The report states a speech of Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, on May the 6th, 1780; he observed that, " he had not yet determined upon the mode in which he wished the question to be debated, that he proposed submitting to the House to-morrow, at present he was inclined to think that it would be the best way for the House to resolve itself into a Committee, as he would move several resolutions, that would point out a remedy for the grievances complained of in the many petitions which had been presented."

The above declaration hath brought on Mr. Pitt every species of calumny and misrepresentation, for withdrawing himself from having any further concern with

the reforming societies or their plan , that the utmost of their united ingenuity and promptitude in abuse could devise and suggest.

It may be necessary to enquire what effect Mr. Pitt's conduct, on the above occasion, had on the minds of the great body of the people, and it will appear, his conduct on that occasion, raised him to a degree of estimation and confidence with his fellow citizens, that few ministers, if any, ever enjoyed, none ever exceeded.

The clamour that then prevailed, which had long and artfully been meditating by the emissaries and agents of the leaders of that faction, were not only become violent, but were carried to so great a pitch, that the more weighty concerns of the nation became in a manner altogether impeded, and by the then opposition appeared only as a secondary consideration.

Mr. Pitt wishing to unite for the benefit of his country, the complicated and jarring interests which then prevailed, thinking also of the many complaints that were then

then daily echoed through the house, and observing the number of petitions which lay on the table complaining of grievances principally arising, (which those petitions artfully stated) from the unequal representation of the Commons' House of Parliament, considering also that Mr. Pitt at that time, with all due submission to his superior abilities was not of long standing in the house, consequently it will appear the less extraordinary if some part of the cloven foot attached to those grievous complaints, might escape his scrutinizing attention, acting only upon his usual just and liberal principles, he conceived it sufficient to know that complaints had been made and petitions been presented, to back those complaints; let us then "says this admirable young statesman, (investigate them), and see if the facts stated are true, or false? If true redress them, if false reject them." What does this prove? nothing more than a uniform conduct on the part of Mr. Pitt, independent of party or of men, to render justice if possible to all persons indiscriminately.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt called on a noble Lord (Lord North) to know if he continued in that house to speak on the question of those petitions? The noble Lord's answer was,

“ that his continuing in the house, whether long or short, depended not on himself, but on others ; he declared, he was averse to the house going into a committee, because, if he gave his consent to it, it might be construed into a confession, that he thought the grievances complained of in the representation of the Commons were well founded, which was contrary to fact, he saw no circumstances in our present situation, which warranted any innovation in the Constitution, he should therefore oppose any attempt to infringe the ancient form of government.”

An opinion so clear pointed, and decisive as the above, by the noble Lord, (who had for many years been a constant attendant in the house, and who had long held the first offices in the state, of consequence the noble Lord's long experience in men and measures), weighed much in the opinion of Mr. Pitt, which led him carefully to

to reconsider the whole of those projected plans, wisely observing the danger that might be involved in attempting to add to, take from, or in any respect whatever, alter or change our invaluable Constitution, found that it might be attended with the most serious consequences.

All those matters of complaint being duly weighed, together with the dangers that were so jesuistically and artfully interwoven, evidently to change a material part of the Constitution, brought home conviction to the mind of Mr. Pitt, and he instantly withdrew himself from the hazardous enterprize, and when we review the whole of his conduct upon that important occasion, together with his wise and unerring measures down to the present period, it is but justice to say, that his conduct on that occasion, so far from incurring censure, does not only now, but will in future ages form a brilliant trait, in the character of this truly great and estimable statesman.

“ The Sub Committee, think it is necessary  
“ to observe, that the principles of liberty were  
“ then

“ clearly understood, though not so universally known as at present, and that we were at war with France and America.”

Those gentlemen are determined that the whole of their report should have a regular continuation of blunders, for surely they have not the presumption to suppose that any thing can possibly be gathered from their reports, to add to the pure and genuine principles of constitutional and legal liberty, so long known, and as happily established throughout every part of the British dominions.

“ *Report continued.* That the right of the people, to annual parliaments and universal suffrage, was maintained by men of the first legal and constitutional information in the nation.”

This paragraph is already sufficiently replied to, we have only to acknowledge there were persons at the time alluded to, that were so far betrayed by the apparent speciousness of some plans, as to be induced to think they merited consideration, and even persons of distinguished rank, abilities and information

tion, for otherwise a certain noble Duke would never have arrived to the honour of obtaining the thanks of the Sub Committee for the part he took in their measures, but the whole of the subsequent conduct of that noble Duke, sufficiently atones for that his only error, but we will not hurt the feelings of the Sub Committee of reformers, by asking them what is become of all their noble and dignified supporters, they are not to be found as their friends in either Houses of Parliament, as to the Whig Club, so much the boast of rank, dignity and worth, alas ! all those of dignity and worth formerly to be found there, have finally withdrawn themselves from all intercourse with that connection, nor could one of those respectable characters be prevailed on to disgrace themselves in order to countenance the last effort of the miserable few, that with difficulty were collected together the 16th day of January last, to take a last farewell

of each other, and finally to bid adieu to all their ideal and delusive hopes.

*Report continued.* " That the leading members of the present administration were members of Associations for that purpose, and recommended the same measure to the country at large, as legal and constitutional. Notwithstanding which, several members of the British Convention, meeting at Edinburgh, and whose only object to obtain, by peaceable means, annual parliaments and universal suffrage, have been lately sentenced to fourteen years transportation beyond seas, wherever his majesty in council shall think proper."

*Remarks, &c.* When we consider the frailties so unavoidably and imperceptibly interwoven in our nature, it would be a bold assertion indeed, for to suppose the most guarded and cautious of men could finally pass through human life, without falling under the sensu'e of some one or other of those errors, and happy would

it have been for those persons, had they followed the example of their superiors, and desisted from persevering in plans whose object seems confessedly, to be attended with the most ruinous consequences.

*Report concluded.* " Whereas assertions have been thrown out respecting the present Associations of the counties, cities and incorporate bodies of this kingdom, representing them as unconstitutional and illegal, and as tending to endanger the public tranquility. Resolved, that the people of England have an undoubted right to assemble peaceably, in order to consider and resolve upon the proper measures for restoring the freedom and inde-  
pendency of the Commons' House of Parliament, to appoint Committees of correspondence, with a view of assisting in the prosecution of that design, and to associate in a legal manner for the purpose of carrying such resolutions into effect.

*Remarks, &c.* That the people of England have a right to assemble to consider of the best means to obtain redress for any actual or real grievance, whether by petition to the Throne, or to Parliament, is most certain, but those applications must be made in a constitutional and legal way, and no other, applications for county meetings must first be made to the sheriffs by a number of respectable freeholders, stating in writing the particulars of such application, and as to cities and borough towns the same mode of applications must be made to the mayor or magistrates, all such applications to be subject to the consideration of such sheriffs, mayor and magistrates for the time being, for them to determine if such applications warrant their assembling together those respective body's of people or not, if not all such meeting or meetings are not only unconstitutional and illegal, but often attended with extreme danger, many instances of which

which have been fatally experienced in this country.

In proof of the danger of such meetings without legal authority, we will only mention one, which unfortunately happened in the year 1780; the destruction and devastation that then fell on the cities of London, Westminster, and Southwark, ought, and we trust will ever operate as a caution to the Executive Power, never again to suffer a body of people illegally to assemble, be their pretence what it may.

To conclude, the extreme danger that in all human probability would follow any attempt to alter, amend, or change the present mode of the representation of the Commons' House of Parliament, is easy to conceive, yet as a further and more powerful reason, by every possible means to prevent and discountenance every such plan, however specious it may appear, under

under the usual pretext of reform, whether in church or state, we have had warning sufficient against those machiavelian attempts, by turning our eyes, however painful, to the miserable inhabitants in France.

Is there, my fellow citizens, any description of misery in the long catalogue of human evils, which the inhabitants of that illfated country hath not daily and hourly experienced? From whence arose all those direful events, but from reformation? A word that is now become as hateful as it is dangerous under the pretence of obtaining a reform in the Executive Government of France, the reformers possessed themselves of power, proceeded progressively till they laid violent hands on their Sovereign, and after a sham trial brought his head to the block, as also that of his unfortunate Consort; their next step was that of renouncing every thought of religion, and with that every principle of humanity and virtue, they

they murder indiscriminately such of the clergy as fall into their hands; their temples are despoiled, the palaces plundered, the towns are desolated, and whole provinces laid waste, all those calamities are carried on by a dreadful banditti of monsters, whose every step is marked by robbery, rapine, and murder.

Such, my fellow citizens, have been the baleful effects of reformers in France, surely then shall we as Britons for a moment hesitate to unite, and punish with the utmost severity, wherever they may be found, those whose practices tend to introduce in this country the like scenes of anarchy and ruin.

THE END.

